Vivien Ellen Rose

Seneca Falls Remembered

Celebrations of the 1848 First Women's Rights Convention

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, daughter of lawyer and New York State Supreme Court Judge Daniel Cady, founded the women's rights movement in the United States. Her birthplace, Johnstown, New York, recognizes this important heritage. Carefully preserved in the Johnstown Historical Society, along with her father's cane and bedstead, are the Chickering piano he purportedly gave her on her 16th birthday, her gilt chair, and ephemera associated with her life as a reformer and speaker. Commemorative articles, including a political button for the 1915 New York State woman suffrage campaign, held in the centennial year of Stanton's birth, and a gubernatorial proclamation of a statewide "Elizabeth Cady Stanton Day" in 1975, round out the displays.[1]

One piece of associative memorabilia held by the Johnstown Historical Society directly reflects Stanton's involvement in organizing the July 1848 women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York. At this convention, the first in the United States to demand equal rights for women as citizens, Stanton's considerable rhetorical and organizational talents were revealed. That convention's Declaration of Sentiments—a list of grievances, resolutions, and action plans following the language and model of the U.S. Declaration of Independence—continues to provide a framework for action in the late-20th century. Stanton's "inauguration of a rebellion" is represented in Johnstown Historical Society research files by a tissue box produced by the Kleenex Company for the 90th and 140th anniversaries of the Seneca Falls Convention. On the bottom of the box, Stanton's image heads text explaining her role "leading the way in women's rights." Perhaps the manufacturer wished to attract a predominantly female buying population, and to simultaneously avoid offending cold sufferers who disagreed with Stanton's women's rights agenda.[2]

Kleenex's marketing of Stanton and the Seneca Falls Convention demonstrates that cultural resource managers cannot control the ways that others use tempting opportunities to revisit important historical events. Managers face other challenges, as well. Increased media attention and visitation can result in higher sales, more fees, and infusions of funds for restorations or other CRM work, and overuse of precious resources, stretched staff, and debates over the meanings of the past. Interpreting events as one single story may embroil managers in controversy when visitors and descendants hold other meanings. As historian David Glassberg argues, interpreters, curators, and preservationists can choose to "create spaces for dialogue about history and for the collection of memories, and to insure that various voices are heard" rather than "provide a finished interpretation of events."[3] At the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention this past July, fostering such a diversity of voices and interpretations made for a very successful commemoration.

The tissue box also exemplifies the ways anniversary celebrations change when the event commemorated passes out of living memory. Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, her life-long co-agitator, seized on decennial anniversaries of the Seneca Falls Convention to reaffirm ties with long-time allies, reinvigorate current campaigns, and prepare for future efforts, all within the context of annual meetings of women's rights organizations founded by them. Only as leaders aged and died did celebrations gradually incorporate pictures and artifacts to carry the memory of the Convention. In Rochester, NY, in 1878, and in Washington, DC, in 1888 and 1898, icons replaced the actual presence of conference organizers Lucretia Mott and the M'Clintock family.[4]

After the deaths of Stanton in 1902 and Anthony in 1906, various wings of the women's movement used quarter-century and decennial anniversaries to claim direct descent, and therefore legitimacy. Absent the voices that rang out in Seneca Falls, new leaders returned there as inheritors of the women's rights movement. Anniversary commemorations held in Seneca Falls in 1908, 1923, and 1948, respectively hosted by Harriot Stanton Blatch (Elizabeth Cady's Stanton's daughter), by the National Woman's Party, and by the

community of Seneca Falls, all shared this tendency. Blatch, a member of the New York Suffrage League, began the process of marking buildings, gathering artifacts, sponsoring speeches, and asking direct descendants to endorse particular strategies for political change.[5]

By contrast, this year's events included forums for exchange of ideas and collection of memories. Women's Rights National Historical Park, created in 1980 to preserve and interpret the sites associated with "the beginning of the struggle of women for their equal rights," holds the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, remnants of the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, site of the Seneca Falls Convention, and the M'Clintock House, where Quaker activists hosted the drafting of the Declaration of Sentiments, revised and adopted by the Convention as its statement of purpose. Each became a venue for commemorative events. Scholars and activists met in panels and roundtables at the Stanton House. First Lady and Honorary President of the Girl Scouts of America Hillary Rodham Clinton unveiled the new Girl Scout badge, "Honor the Past, Imagine the Future," with the same logo as the White House Millennium Council's "Save Our Treasures" tour at the M'Clintock House. (See speech page 16.) Celebrate '98, a consortium of community organizations, sponsored a re-enact ment of the 1848 Convention in the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, where Mrs. Clinton met with descendants of the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments. Women's Rights NHP, Celebrate '98, and Forum '98, a coalition of national women's organizations, each played a distinct role: the park interpreted the Convention, Celebrate '98 celebrated the anniversary, and Forum '98 created an agenda for the future.

In Living Memory: 19th-Century Celebrations

Nineteenth-century observances of the Seneca Falls Convention took place within the context of active organizing for women's rights. In 1878, the National Woman Suffrage Association called the first recorded celebration, held at the Unitarian Church in Rochester, NY, in place of its regular annual convention. In addition to Stanton, delegates included Sojourner Truth, who had been speaking for women's and African-American civil rights for 27 years, Frederick Douglass, publisher and statesman, and Quaker minister and anti-slavery activist Lucretia Mott, Stanton's mentor and role model. With the character of "a reunion...of near and dear relatives...which help to sustain reformers while they battle ignorance and prejudice in order to secure justice," it was also an occasion to call for change. Stanton returned to an early theme of the women's rights movement: the "perverted application of the scriptures" which denied women equal rights. Stanton spent much of the 1870s travelling as a popular speaker, and repeatedly found the Bible used to refute her arguments about women's equality with men. She encouraged women to decide for themselves what the Holy Scriptures said about women's equality, sponsoring three resolutions on self-development. The first called it the "duty of every individual" to develop herself; the second appealed to women to exercise their own critical thinking in analyzing the

1888 International Council of Women. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton seated second and fourth from left, first row. Photo from the slide files of Women's Rights National Historical Park.

Bible and other religious works, and the last criticized ministers who focused women's attention on the hereafter rather than the present. Lucretia Mott traveled to Rochester against the wishes of her family to attend this, her last public meeting, and when Frederick Douglass escorted her from the hall, onlookers and coworkers wept.[6]

Ten years later, in 1888, Susan B. Anthony and the National Woman Suffrage Association hosted an international meeting in Washington, DC. The call for the meeting began with allusions to Seneca Falls:

> The first public demand for equal educational, industrial, professional and political rights for women was made in a convention held at Seneca Falls, New York in the year 1848.
>
> To celebrate the Fortieth Anniversary of this event an International Council of Women will be convened...

In her opening remarks, Anthony introduced a picture of Lucretia Mott as "the mother of the movement" before the keynote speaker, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, recalled "the merciless storm of ridicule" that greeted "those who inaugurated the movement for woman's enfranchisement." Still, this movement, though "wandering in the wilderness of prejudice and ridicule for 40 years," had "cleared away much of the underbrush of false sentiment, logic and rhetoric intertwisted with law and custom which blocked all avenues." Stanton claimed that the experience of subordination had taught women "the open sesame to the hearts of each other," and that women working together would recreate society to include "a just government, a humane religion, a pure social life..." Creating an international women's movement would hurry the new society along.[7]

Stanton also presided over the meeting of "the pioneers." At a session featuring eight male and 36 female Seneca Falls survivors, Frederick Douglass rather modestly reported that he had "done very little in this world in which to glory" except "to support Mrs. Stanton's resolution for woman suffrage" at the Seneca Falls Convention. Anthony, who had not attended the 1848 Convention, still gathered many of the Declaration of Sentiments signers and representatives of every kind of women's group to demonstrate their combined support for her agenda. Anthony built alliances which allowed the takeover of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) by the rival American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) and the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Both the AWSA and WCTU cosponsored the international event. After the meeting, they joined the U.S. umbrella organization, the National Council of Women. Anthony wanted to make suffrage respectable, and the international meeting was the first step in bringing the AWSA and the NWSA together into one organization, the NAWSA, by 1890.[8]

In 1893, the NAWSA met at the Women's Pavilion of the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago. No special observance marked the 45th anniversary of the Convention, although Anthony commissioned marble busts of Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and herself to display throughout the exposition. Icons had replaced living memory.

In 1898, Anthony opened the NAWSA convention by displaying the M'Clintocks' parlor table, and distributing the Declaration of Sentiments. "You will notice," she said, "that those demands which were ridiculed and denounced from one end of the country to the other, all have now been conceded but the suffrage...." Stanton, whose 1895 *The Woman's Bible* commentaries had been roundly denounced by the NAWSA, firmly disagreed. In an address read in her absence, she exhorted NAWSA members to "make a brave attack on every obstacle which stands in your way....There are new fields for conquest and more enemies to meet." Although the meeting celebrated "the semi-centennial anniversary of the first Woman's Rights Convention" and reaffirmed "every principle then and there enunciated," the resolutions did not reflect Stanton's demands for equality in church, state, and home. The "pioneers" evening was now dominated by the children of the organizers of the Seneca Falls Convention. No one who had actually attended it was present. While the NAWSA claimed the legacy of the Seneca Falls Convention by displaying the M'Clintock family's parlor table and revisiting the Declaration of Sentiments, no new action agenda marked its 50th anniversary.[9]

Stanton's autobiography, *80 Years and More*, published late in 1898, reminded Anthony and new generations of women's rights supporters of their common history: whenever challenging the status quo, they were ridiculed and ostracized. The 1848 meeting was reviled,

> ...but now many conventions are held each year...to discuss the same ideas; social customs have changed; laws have been modified;...school suffrage has been granted to women in half of our States, municipal suffrage in Kansas, and full suffrage in four States....That first convention, considered a 'grave mistake' in 1848, is now referred to as 'a grand step in progress.'

Stanton's then radical demands of the 1850s and 1860s, for alcohol regulation, more liberal divorce laws, and more women in the ministry, had been partially achieved by 1898. Her parting shot

occupied the last page of her autobiography. Far from believing that all but suffrage had been won, she wrote: "Seeing that the religious superstitions of women perpetuate their bondage more than all other adverse influences, I feel impelled to reiterate my demands for justice, liberty, and equality in the Church as well as in the State."[10]

Remembered by Descendants: 20th Century

Stanton and Anthony, the longest-lived of the early women's rights reformers, died in the decade between 1898 and 1908. The origins of the 19th-century women's movement passed out of living memory. Their followers and children attempted to commemorate them and to move forward. After 1898, celebrations became spectacles increasingly divorced from particular organizations or agendas. By 1948, these ceremonies were no longer held under the auspices of a women's rights organization, or within the context of an active movement.

In late May, 1908, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Elizabeth Cady Stanton's daughter and a woman suffrage activist in her own right, organized the first Seneca Falls Convention celebration actually held there. Speeches by descendants of the Seneca Falls signers, and the installation of a bronze commemorative marker on the substantially altered Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, returned the issues of women's rights to the town. The marker's text illustrated Blatch's commitment to work with every group to gain the franchise for women. It recalled Stanton's resolution calling for woman suffrage, and Frederick Douglass' support. The formal program included a speech by Mary Church Terrell, founding member of the National Association of Colored Women, on the contributions of Frederick Douglass to the 19th-century women's rights movement.[11]

Yet this was the annual meeting of neither the state or nor the national woman suffrage association. Four months later, the NAWSA met in Buffalo, New York. In her welcoming speech, New York suffragist Emily Howland argued that the Declaration of Sentiments embodied the maxim, "greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, NAWSA president, also lauded the convention-callers: "We are scarcely able today to understand what those brave pioneers endured to secure the things which we accept as a matter of course." The "great evening of the week was devoted to the Commemorative Program in Honor of the 1848 Convention." Presided over by Eliza Wright Osborne, daughter and niece of two of the organizers of the Seneca Falls Convention, the program consisted of revisiting the resolutions of the 1848 convention and comparing and commenting on current conditions. In most cases, commentators treated the resolutions, which called for everything from equal educational opportunities to property rights to divorce law to employment options to religious belief, as self-evident truths.[12]

Marking the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in 1908 gave a visible presence to the early history of the women's rights movement. Once the building was marked, celebrations of the 1848 Convention returned to Seneca Falls, and organizations used the town and the building to extend the achievements of the past into the future. After winning the suffrage amendment in 1920, the National American Woman Suffrage Association became the League of Women Voters. Arguing that the suffrage amendment had completed the agenda of the Seneca Falls Convention, Carrie Chapman Catt, NAWSA president, encouraged women to fulfill their responsibilities as citizens and voters. Meanwhile the movement's radical wing, the Congressional Union, became the National Woman's Party. Alice Paul, NWP leader, looked to the Declaration of Sentiments for an agenda for the future. In 1923, she celebrated the 75th anniversary of the first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls. Paul announced a new strategy: the Equal Rights Amendment— "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." Introduced into Congress in December of that year, it has never been ratified.

The marker on the Wesleyan Chapel, which had disappeared in the 1910s, resurfaced for the 75th anniversary celebration. Friday evening's dance dramatized the progress of women through the ages. On Saturday, Paul formally announced the Equal Rights Amendment, followed by an evening program entitled "Celebration of Anniversary of First Equal Rights Meeting," with a chorus, processional, and speeches by NWP officers and Harriot Stanton Blatch. Paul then led a pilgrimage to Susan B. Anthony's home and grave in Rochester, some 50 miles away. Clearly the NWP intended to claim its place as the rightful heir of the Seneca Falls Convention and Stanton and Anthony's activism. Paul even recast the 1848 meeting as an "equal rights" convention, rather than a "woman's rights" meeting.[13]

The ERA attracted little support from the League of Women Voters and from activists concerned with protective labor legislation and child and maternal health. By 1948, a century after the Convention, the ERA remained "in the doldrums." However, the New York State Department of Education did erect historical markers in front of the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel and the Stanton house in the early 1930s, making them permanently visible.[14]

Local organizers, determined to control the 1948 centennial celebration, created their own

Dedication of Commemorative Plaque, 1908. Photo from the slide files of Women's Rights National Historical Park.

committees to welcome various luminaries to Seneca Falls. Noticeable by its absence was the National Woman's Party; in fact, organizers urged guest speakers to avoid mention of the ERA. President Truman sent a letter of congratulations. The U.S. Postal Service issued a commemorative stamp. Descendants honored Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony as leaders, but disagreed about the future agenda. Anna Lord Strauss, Lucretia Mott's great-niece and president of the League of Women Voters, urged celebrants to "think in terms of women's opportunities instead of women's rights," rather than "promoting a woman's block or proclaiming a new woman's movement." Nora Stanton Barney, daughter of Harriot Stanton Blatch and granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, claimed that Stanton "would no doubt be a champion of civil rights and just as many unpopular causes as in 1848. She would be demanding the full emancipation of woman and equality of rights under the law...." Susan B. Anthony II, the great-niece of Susan B. Anthony, delivered a "Declaration of the Women of 1948 to the Women of 2048," signed by Pearl Buck, Margaret Sanger, and others who promised to "liberate our sex, and various races, from the economic, political and social bonds that still cripple us, 100 years after the women of 1848 started their long battle to loosen them." Dorothy Kenyon, U.S. representative to the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women, decried "complacency over past achievements, great as these may have been," and called for "ways and means of implementing human freedom in the future." These separate calls for civil and equal rights, for economic, political and social equality, and for women's leadership occurred in the context of President Truman's executive order ending segregation in the armed forces, the Fair Housing Act, and the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights.[15] The women's movement in the United States remained marginal during the 1950s. In the late 1970s, renewed demands for equal treatment under the law and support for the Equal Rights Amendment led activists and historians to seek out and find roots in Seneca Falls. The 1977 Houston convention observing the start of the U.N. Decade for Women, officially opened with a torch from Seneca Falls entering the hall. Millicent Brady Moore, Seneca Falls resident and descendant of a Declaration of Sentiments signer, handed the torch to the first runner. Susan B. Anthony II received it in Houston. In 1978, a local activist, Mary Curry, observed the 130th anniversary of the Convention by creating a small exhibit and opportunity to sign on to the Declaration of Sentiments under the historical marker near the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel. The creation of Women's Rights National Historical Park in 1980 added buildings to the visible markers of the history of the women's rights movement in Seneca Falls, even as the park's grand opening in 1982 followed the defeat of the ERA by two weeks.[16]

Creating A Space For Dialogue: 1998

Planning for the 1998 sesquicentennial for the Seneca Falls Convention began as early as 1993. By 1996, a coalition of local groups, incorporated as Celebrate '98, formed to host several days of celebratory events in Seneca Falls. The National Women's Hall of Fame moved its honors ceremonies from early June to mid-July. The Seneca County Historical Society and Seneca Falls Heritage Area sponsored special exhibits on early women's rights activists. Headed by former New York lieutenant governor MaryAnn Krupsak, who had been instrumental in the park's creation, Celebrate '98 planned concerts, forums, dramatizations, craftshows, panels, memory tents, and other events.

State and national attention supported these local efforts. Governor Pataki formed the New York State Commission Honoring the Achievements of Women, which funded educational materials, special exhibits, a partial grant to filmmaker Ken Burns for a feature on Stanton and Anthony, a life-sized statue of Susan B. Anthony meeting Elizabeth Cady Stanton, slated for unveiling in fall 1999, and a website. The President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History, created by Executive Order on July 2, 1998, held the first of many national hearings during the Seneca Falls observances. Legislation was intro-

duced into Congress in early July and passed in October creating the Women's Progress Commemoration Commission. These two commissions will report to the White House and Congress, respectively, about appropriate ways to commemorate and preserve sites associated with women's part in the development of the nation. Honoring the Seneca Falls Convention, has, in effect, resulted in a national reassessment of the ways that women's pasts are preserved and interpreted.[17]

Although events commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention occurred throughout the nation, Seneca Falls focused on the tangible remains and the important meanings of the historical event. Shortened tours allowed more visitors in the Stanton House and Wesleyan Chapel, while limiting weight on historic floors. Mrs. Clinton announced a $10,000 grant to assist with interior restoration of the M'Clintock House, while the M'Clintock family table and suffrage busts from the 1893 Woman's Building, on loan from the Smithsonian, occupied prime exhibit space in the park visitor center. The National Women's Party loaned historic suffrage banners whose colors, purple, white, and gold, graced every publication and event. Descendants of Convention organizers also were resources, giving interviews on the meaning of the Convention for park research files and to the media, and wearing buttons identifying them as special guests.

As in 1908, national women's associations held conventions in Seneca Falls or nearby to honor the 1848 Convention. The park co-sponsored a one-day conference on "women's rights around the world" at the National Women's Studies Association Conference and a weekend conference on "The Stuff of Women's History" with the Organization of American Historians. Unitarian Universalist Women and the National Organization for Women met in Rochester. Each conference sent delegates on pilgrimage to Seneca Falls. Representatives of the National Women's Party celebrated the 75th anniversary of the first call for the ERA.

Unlike the 1923 celebration, no one political organization staged the 1998 event. Instead, Celebrate '98 and the park provided places for the discussion of many perspectives on the meaning and importance of the 1848 Convention. The park issued special use permits for events hosted by a variety of groups. The National Organization for Women called for a re-dedication to the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments and demanded a National Women's Equality Act to address issues of equal rights for women. The AFL-CIO sought equal pay for equal work and equal access to the trades and professions. Comparing women's rights and lesbian rights, the Coalition for Lesbian Visibility demanded that all women have basic rights to jobs and housing, which are currently denied homosexuals in many states. Feminists for Life argued that women's rights began in the womb and access to safe abortions hurts women. Girls '98 issued a Declaration of Sentiments for girls' rights. Finally, Forum '98 representing 110 women's organizations nationwide, issued an action plan for the 21st century encompassing legal, economic, professional, and social goals. Rededicating themselves to the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments, they also publicly signed the Declaration for the 21st Century. Donna Shalala, Secretary of Health and Human Services, Betty Friedan, founding NOW member, Eleanor Smeal, past president of NOW, and other illuminati appeared to sign the new declaration. Not surprisingly, various events drew counter-demonstrators, who were offered free speech permits in nearby locations.

Women's Rights NHP Supt. Josie Fernandez, Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna E. Shalala, and author and women's rights activist Betty Friedan sign Forum '98's Declaration for the 21st Century. Photo by Carol Ash, NPS.

Only Hillary Rodham Clinton, keynote speaker at opening ceremonies, issued an official vision for the future. On behalf of Celebrate '98, she called on listeners to "imagine a future that keeps faith with the sentiments expressed here in 1848."[18] Yet the celebration, held over several days in various locations, encouraged discussion of various meanings of the Seneca Falls Convention. Both the National Organization for Women and the Feminists for Life claimed Stanton as their foremother. Activists and scholars examined and critiqued the relationship between Stanton and others. Stanton's likely position on current issues was the subject of lively debates captured on CNN and CSPAN. Nor did dramatizations of the 1848 Convention, of the contested relationships between 19th-century women's rights leaders, and of the

1923 introduction of the ERA avoid the controversies present in those pasts.

Historical agencies have special opportunities when planning anniversary commemorations. Women's Rights NHP, as steward of the Stanton and M'Clintock houses and the Wesleyan Chapel, provides basic interpretation about the people who created and sustained the early women's rights movement. In partnership with other cultural agencies, Women's Rights NHP provided a place for assessing the past and planning for the future. Although the summer's events are past, that dialogue continues in websites maintained by the U.S. Information Agency, by the park, by the National Women's History Project, by the Susan B. Anthony Center at the University of Rochester, and others, and in the work of the state, national, and presidential commissions.

If judged by sheer volume of visitors and liveliness of discussion, this sesquicentennial celebration continues to be a success. No Kleenex boxes featuring Stanton made their way onto the mass market during this sesquicentennial year, but neither could the park or the village of Seneca Falls control the many ways in which the Convention was commemorated throughout the county, state, country, and world. Curators, interpreters, and historic site administrators no more own the past than do vendors who use it to sell products while educating the public. But like vendors, cultural resource managers can use anniversaries to "sell" historic preservation and interpretation.

Notes

1 "Vote for Woman Suffrage November 2, Elizabeth Cady Stanton Centennial, 1915" campaign button; Proclamation of Elizabeth Cady Stanton Day in New York State, September 18, 1975. Both in collections of the Johnstown Historical Society, Johnstown, New York. Thank you to Heather Huyck, Patricia West, Harry Butowsky, and Ron Greenberg for their helpful comments on a previous version of this article.

2 "Leading the Way in Women's Rights," Kleenex box, copyright 1938, 1977, Johnstown Historical Society.

3 David Glassberg, "Public History and the Study of Memory," *The Public Historian* 18 (Spring 1996), 14.

4 Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *80 Years and More* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993).

5 Linda Norris. "Politics and Place: Celebrating Women's Rights in Seneca Falls," Exhibition Planning report, March 1996.

6 Various sources, cited in Judith M. Wellman, "The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Women's Rights Convention," unpublished manuscript.

7 *History of Woman Suffrage* 4: 125-139.

8 Elisabeth Griffith, *In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton* (New York: Oxford Press, 1984), 192-193.

9 *History of Woman Suffrage* 4: 288-298.

10 Stanton, *80 Years and More*, 465-468.

11 *History of Woman Suffrage* 6: 444.

12 *History of Woman Suffrage* 5: 212-221.

13 Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminis*m (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls, Afterward*, 43-45; National Woman's Party Celebration Program, July 20-22, 1923, from the collections of the Seneca Falls Historical Society.

14 Leila Rupp and Verta Taylor, *Survival in the Doldrums: The American Women's Rights Movement, 1945 to the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

15 "Women's Rights Project Wins President's Praise," *Syracuse* (NY) *Post Standard*, July 21, 1948.

16 Enabling Legislation, Women's Rights NHP. See also Judith M. Wellman's article on the creation of the park and Gail L. Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman, *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation* (Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming).

17 See www.govpataki4women.org for NYS Commission; www.gsa.gov/staff/pa/whc.htm for information on the President's Commission.

18 First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Seneca Falls, NY, July 16, 1998. See <www.whitehouse.gov/wh/eop/first_lady/html/treasures> for the full text of the speech.

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